

THE NEW NATIONALISM

Osawatomie, Kansas

August 31, 1910.

We come here to-day to commemorate one of the epochmaking events of the long struggle for the rights of man - the long struggle for the uplift of humanity. Our country - this great Republic - means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now the central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.

There have been two great crises in our country's history: first, when it was formed, and then, again, when it was perpetuated; and, in the second of these great crises - in the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, on the outcome of which depended the justification of what had been done earlier, you men of the Grand Army, you men who fought through the Civil War, not only did you justify your generation, not only did you render life worth living for our generation, but you justified the wisdom of Washington and Washington's colleagues. If this Republic had been founded by them only to be split asunder into fragments when the strain came, then the judgment of the world would have been that Washington's work was not worth doing. It was you who crowned Washington's work, as you carried to achievement the high purpose of Abraham Lincoln.

Now, with this second period of our history the name of John Brown will be forever associated; and Kansas was the theater upon which the first act of the second of our great national life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom; that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. In name we had the Declaration of Independence in 1776; but we gave the lie by our acts to the words of the Declaration of Independence until 1865; and words count for nothing except in so far as they represent acts. This is true everywhere; but, O my friends, it should be truest of all in political life. A broken promise is bad enough in private life. It is worse in the field of politics. No man is worth his salt in public life who makes on the stump a pledge which he does not keep after election; and, if he makes such a pledge and does not keep it, hunt him out of public life. I care for the great deeds of the past chiefly as spurs to drive us onward in

the present. I speak of the men of the past partly that they may be honored by our praise of them, but more that they may serve as examples for the future.

It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much also of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same man did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States as a whole, can now afford to forget the evil, or, at least, to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride only on the good that was accomplished. Even in ordinary times there are very few of us who do not see the problems of life as through a glass, darkly; and when the glass is clouded by the murk of furious popular passion, the vision of the best and the bravest is dimmed. Looking back, we are all of us now able to do justice to the valor and the disinterestedness and the love of the right, as to each it was given to see the right, shown both by the men of the North and the men of the South in that contest which was finally decided by the attitude of the West. We can admire the heroic valor, the sincerity, the self devotion shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and our sadness that such men should have had to fight one another is tempered by the glad knowledge that ever hereafter their descendants shall be found fighting side by side, struggling in peace as well as in war for the uplift of their common country. all alike resolute to raise to the highest pitch of honor and usefulness the nation to which they all belong. As for the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, they deserve honor and recognition such as is paid to no other citizens of the Republic; for to them the republic owes its all; for to them it owes its very existence. It is because of what you and your comrades did in the dark years that we of to-day walk, each of us, head erect, and proud that we belong, not to one of a dozen little squabbling contemptible commonwealths, but to the mightiest nation upon which the sun shines.

I do not speak of this struggle of the past merely from the historic standpoint. Our interest is primarily in the application to-day of the lessons taught by the contest of half a century ago. It is of little use for us to pay lip-loyalty to the mighty men of the past unless we sincerely endeavor to apply to the problems of the present precisely the qualities which in other crises enable the men of that day to meet those crises. It is half melancholy and half amusing to see the way in which well-meaning people gather to do honor to the man who, in company with John Brown, and under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, faced and solved the great problems of the nineteenth century, while, at the same time, these same good people nervously shrink from, or frantically denounce, those who are trying to meet the problems of the twentieth century in the spirit which was accountable for the successful solution of the problems of Lincoln's time.

Of that generation of men to whom we owe so much, the man to whom we owe most is, of course, Lincoln. Part of our debt to him is because he forecast our present struggle and saw the way out. He said:

"I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind."

And again:

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

If that remark was original with me, I should be even more strongly denounced as a Communist agitator than I shall be anyhow. It is Lincoln's. I am only quoting it; and that is one side; that is the side the capitalist should hear. Now, let the working man hear his side.

"Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.... Nor should this lead to a war upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; . . . property is desirable; is a positive good in the world."

And then comes a thoroughly Lincolnlike sentence:

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

It seems to me that, in these words, Lincoln took substantially the attitude that we ought to take; he showed the proper sense of proportion in his relative estimates of capital and labor, of human rights and property rights. Above all, in this speech, as in many others, he taught a lesson in wise kindness and charity; an indispensable lesson to us of today. But this wise kindness and charity never weakened his arm or numbed his heart. We cannot afford weakly to blind ourselves to the actual conflict which faces us to-day. The issue is joined, and we must fight or fail.

In every wise struggle for human betterment one of the main objects, and often the only object, has been to achieve in large measure equality of opportunity. In the struggle for this great end, nations rise from barbarism to civilization, and through it people press forward from one stage of enlightenment to the next. One of the chief factors in progress is the destruction of special privilege. The essence of any struggle for healthy liberty has always been, and must always be, to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. That is what you fought for in the Civil War, and that is what we strive for now.

At many stages in the advance of humanity, this conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the central condition of progress. In our day it appears as the struggle of freemen to gain and hold the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will. At every stage, and under all circumstances, the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and to the commonwealth. That is nothing new. All I ask in civil life is what you fought for in the Civil War. I ask that civil life be carried on according to the spirit in which the army was carried on. You never get perfect justice, but the effort in handling the army was to bring to the front the men who could do the job. Nobody grudged promotion to Grant, or Sherman, or Thomas, or Sheridan, because they earned it. The only complaint was when a man got promotion which he did not earn.

Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable. No man who carries the burden of the special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled.

I stand for the square deal. But when I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the games, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. One word of warning, which, I think, is hardly necessary in Kansas. When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not got the energy to work for himself. If a man who has had a chance will not make good, then he has got to quit. And you men of the Grand Army, you want justice for the brave man who fought, and punishment for the coward who shirked his work. Is not that so?

Now, this means that our government, national and State, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests. Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the special interests out of politics. That is one of our tasks to-day. Every special interest is entitled to justice - full, fair, and complete - and, now, mind you, if there were any attempt by mob-violence to plunder and work harm to the special interest, whatever it may be, and I most dislike and the wealthy man, whomsoever he may be, for whom I have the greatest contempt, I would fight for him, and you would if you were worth your salt. He

should have justice. For every special interest is entitled to justice, but not one is entitled to a vote in Congress, to a voice on the bench, or to representation in any public office. The Constitution guarantees protections to property, and we must make that promise good But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation. The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done.

We must have complete and effective publicity of corporate affairs, so that people may know beyond peradventure whether the corporations obey the law and whether their management entitles them to the confidence of the public. It is necessary that laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds directly or indirectly for political purposes; it is still more necessary that such laws should be thoroughly enforced. Corporate expenditures for political purposes, and especially such expenditures by public-service corporations, have supplied one of the principal sources of corruption in our political affairs.

It has become entirely clear that we must have government supervision of the capitalization, not only of public-service corporations, including, particularly, railways, but of all corporations doing an interstate business. I do not wish to see the nation forced into the ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided, and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on a full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of property. This physical valuation is not needed, or, at least, is very rarely needed, for fixing rates; but it is needed as the basis of honest capitalization.

We have come to recognize that franchises should never be granted except for a limited time, and never without proper provision for compensation to the public. It is my personal belief that the same kind and degree of control and supervision which should be exercised over public-service corporations should be extended also to combinations which control necessities of life, such as meat, oil, and coal, or which deal in them on an important scale. I have no doubt that the ordinary man who has control of them is much like ourselves. I have no doubt he would like to do well, but I want to have enough supervision to help him realize that desire to do well.

I believe that the officers, and, especially, the directors, of corporations should be held personally responsible when any corporation breaks the law.

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely

controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. For that purpose the Federal Bureau of Corporations is an agency of first importance. Its powers, and, therefore, its efficiency, as well as that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be largely increased. We have a right to expect from the Bureau of Corporations and from the Interstate Commerce Commission a very high grade of public service. We should be as sure of the proper conduct of the interstate railways and the proper management of interstate business as we are now sure of the conduct and management of the national banks, and we should have as effective supervision in one case as in the other. The Hepburn Act, and the amendment to the act in the shape in which it finally passed Congress at the last session, represent a long step in advance, and we must go yet further.

There is a wide-spread belief among our people that under the methods of making tariffs, which have hitherto obtained, the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big special interests and the little special interests. These methods have put a premium on selfishness, and, naturally, the selfish big interests have gotten more than their smaller, though equally selfish brothers. The duty of Congress is to provide a method by which the interest of the whole people shall be all that receives consideration. To this end there must be an expert tariff commission, wholly removed from the possibility of political pressure or of improper business influence. Such a commission can find the real difference between cost of production, which is mainly the difference of labor cost here and abroad. As fast as its recommendations are made, I believe in revising one schedule at a time. A general revision of the tariff almost inevitably leads to logrolling and the subordination of the general public interest to local and special interests.

The absence of effective State, and, especially, national, restraint upon unfair money-getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditions which enable these men to accumulate power which is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise. We grudge no man a fortune which represents his own power and sagacity, when exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. Again, comrades over there, take the lesson from your own experience. Not only did you not grudge, but you gloried in the promotion of the great generals who gained their promotion by leading the army to victory. So it is with us. We grudge no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not even enough that it should have gained without doing damage to the community. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefit to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary.

No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered - not gambling in stocks, but service rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. Therefore, I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax which is far more easily collected and far more effective - a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate.

The people of the United States suffer from periodical financial panics to a degree substantially unknown among the other nations which approach us in financial strength. There is no reason why we should suffer what they escape. It is of profound importance that our financial system should be promptly investigated, and so thoroughly and effectively revised as to make it certain that hereafter our currency will no longer fail at critical times to meet our needs.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I believe in an efficient army and a navy large enough to secure for us abroad that respect which is the surest guaranty of peace. A word of special warning to my fellow citizens who are as progressive as I hope I am. I want them to keep up their interest in our internal affairs; and I want them also continually to remember Uncle Sam's interest abroad. Justice and fair dealing among nations rest upon principles identical with those which control justice and fair dealing among the individuals of which nations are composed, with the vital exception that each nation must do its own part in international police work. If you get into trouble here, you can call for the police; but if Uncle Sam gets into trouble, he has got to be his own policeman, and I want to see him strong enough to encourage the peaceful aspirations of other peoples in connection with us. I believe in national friendships and heartiest good-will to all nations; but national friendships, like those between men, must be founded on respect as well as on liking, on forbearance as well as upon trust. I should be heartily ashamed of any American who did not try to make the American Government act as Justly toward the other nations in international relations as he himself would act toward any individual in private relations. I should be heartily ashamed to see us wrong a weaker power, and I should hang my head forever if we tamely suffered wrong from a stronger power.

Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of

his children leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water-power with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interest should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various States, and the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves. as they have far too often limited themselves in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops. And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer's wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself. Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. We need comprehensive workmen's compensation acts, both State and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in booklearning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers and to extend the use of safety appliances for our workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the States. Also, friends, in the interest of the working man himself we need to set our faces like Mint against mob-violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage-workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before elections, to say a word about lawless mob-violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench, or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob-violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption in business on a gigantic scale. Also remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only with natural resources and with men, but is equally concerned with institutions. The State must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the State; and the nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary in forbidding the State to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for overcentralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The national government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the national government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the national government.

The American people are right in demanding that New Nationalism, without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The New Nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from overdivision of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than any one class or section of the people.

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property as well as human welfare. Normally, and in the long run, the ends are the same; but whenever the alternative must be faced, I am for men and not for property, as you were in the Civil War. I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends; but I rank dividends below human character. Again, I do not have any sympathy with the reformer who says he does not care for dividends. Of course, economic welfare is necessary, for a man must pull his own weight and be able to support his family. I know well that the reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster, whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife.

Those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few and the triumph in both politics and business of a sordid and selfish materialism.

If our political institutions were perfect, they would absolutely prevent the political domination of money in any part of our affairs. We need to make our political representatives more quickly and sensitively responsive to the people whose servants they are. More direct action by the people in their own affairs under proper safeguards is vitally necessary. The direct primary is a step in this direction, if it is associated with a corrupt-practices act effective to prevent the advantage of the man willing recklessly and unscrupulously to spend money over his more honest competitor. It is particularly important that all moneys received or expended for campaign purposes should be publicly accounted for, not only after election, but before election as well. Political action must be made simpler, easier, and freer from confusion for every citizen. I believe that the prompt removal of unfaithful or incompetent public servants should be made easy and sure in whatever way experience shall show to be most expedient in any given class of cases.

One of the fundamental necessities in a representative government such as ours is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people by whom they are elected, and not the special interests. I believe that every national officer, elected or appointed, should be forbidden to perform any service or receive any compensation, directly or indirectly, from interstate corporations; and a similar provision could not fail to be useful within the States.

The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens. Just in proportion as the average man and woman are honest, capable of sound judgment and high ideals, active in public affairs - but, first of all, sound in their home life, and the father and mother of healthy children whom they bring up well - just so far, and no farther, we may count our civilization a success. We must have - I believe we have already - a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent. Let me again illustrate by a reference to the Grand Army. You could not have won simply as a disorderly and disorganized mob. You needed generals; you needed careful administration of the most advanced type; and a good commissary - the cracker line. You well remember that success was necessary in many different lines in order to bring about general success.

You had to have the administration at Washington good, just as you had to have the administration in the field; and you had to have the work of the generals good. You could not have triumphed without that administration and leadership; but it would all have been worthless if the average soldier had not had the right stuff in him. He had to have the right stuff in him, or you could not get it out of him. In the last analysis, therefore, vitally necessary though it was to have the right kind of organization and the right kind of generalship, it was even more vitally necessary that the average soldier should have the fighting edge, the right character.

So it is in our civil life. No matter how honest and decent we are in our private lives, if we do not have the right kind of law and the right kind of administration of the law, we cannot go forward as a nation. That is imperative; but it must be an addition to, and not a substitution for, the qualities that make us good citizens. In the last analysis, the most important elements in any man's career must be the sum of those qualities which, in the aggregate, we speak of as character. If he has not got it, then no law that the wit of man can devise, no administration of the law by the boldest and strongest executive, will avail to help him. We must have the right kind of character - character that makes a man, first of all, a good man in the home, a good father, a good husband - that makes a man a good neighbor. You must have that, and, then, in addition, you must have the kind of law and the kind of administration of the law which will give to those qualities in the private citizen the best possible chance for development. The prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of good citizenship, and, to get it, we must have progress, and our public men must be genuinely progressive.

JOHN BROWN CELEBRATION AT OSAWATOMIE KANSAS AUG. 30TH and 31ST, 1910

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30th.
OLD SOLDIERS' REUNION

Drills by United States Troops and Kansas National Guard.
CONCERTS BY U. S. MILITARY BAND.

Addresses by Prominent Speakers.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31st.

Drills, Band Concerts. Parade of all Troops, G. A. R., W. R. C.,
and Civic Societies.

Dedictory Address by

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

SPEECHES BY GOV. STUBBS AND OTHER WELL KNOWN ORATORS.

FOR THIS OCCASION SPECIAL TRAINS WILL BE OPERATED

AS FOLLOWS, VIA:



FROM PITTSBURG, AUGUST 31st.

Train	Time	From	Time	To
10:00 A.M.	10:00	Pittsburg	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 A.M.	11:00	Pittsburg	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 P.M.	12:00	Pittsburg	12:00	Osawatomie
1:00 P.M.	1:00	Pittsburg	1:00	Osawatomie
2:00 P.M.	2:00	Pittsburg	2:00	Osawatomie
3:00 P.M.	3:00	Pittsburg	3:00	Osawatomie
4:00 P.M.	4:00	Pittsburg	4:00	Osawatomie
5:00 P.M.	5:00	Pittsburg	5:00	Osawatomie
6:00 P.M.	6:00	Pittsburg	6:00	Osawatomie
7:00 P.M.	7:00	Pittsburg	7:00	Osawatomie
8:00 P.M.	8:00	Pittsburg	8:00	Osawatomie
9:00 P.M.	9:00	Pittsburg	9:00	Osawatomie
10:00 P.M.	10:00	Pittsburg	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 P.M.	11:00	Pittsburg	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 A.M.	12:00	Pittsburg	12:00	Osawatomie

Returning. Special will leave Osawatomie 9:00 P.M., making all stops to Pittsburg.

FROM COFFEYVILLE, AUGUST 31st.

Train	Time	From	Time	To
10:00 A.M.	10:00	Coffeyville	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 A.M.	11:00	Coffeyville	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 P.M.	12:00	Coffeyville	12:00	Osawatomie
1:00 P.M.	1:00	Coffeyville	1:00	Osawatomie
2:00 P.M.	2:00	Coffeyville	2:00	Osawatomie
3:00 P.M.	3:00	Coffeyville	3:00	Osawatomie
4:00 P.M.	4:00	Coffeyville	4:00	Osawatomie
5:00 P.M.	5:00	Coffeyville	5:00	Osawatomie
6:00 P.M.	6:00	Coffeyville	6:00	Osawatomie
7:00 P.M.	7:00	Coffeyville	7:00	Osawatomie
8:00 P.M.	8:00	Coffeyville	8:00	Osawatomie
9:00 P.M.	9:00	Coffeyville	9:00	Osawatomie
10:00 P.M.	10:00	Coffeyville	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 P.M.	11:00	Coffeyville	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 A.M.	12:00	Coffeyville	12:00	Osawatomie

Returning. Special will leave Osawatomie 9:00 P.M., making all stops to Coffeyville.

FROM WICHITA, AUGUST 31st.

Train	Time	From	Time	To
10:00 A.M.	10:00	Wichita	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 A.M.	11:00	Wichita	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 P.M.	12:00	Wichita	12:00	Osawatomie
1:00 P.M.	1:00	Wichita	1:00	Osawatomie
2:00 P.M.	2:00	Wichita	2:00	Osawatomie
3:00 P.M.	3:00	Wichita	3:00	Osawatomie
4:00 P.M.	4:00	Wichita	4:00	Osawatomie
5:00 P.M.	5:00	Wichita	5:00	Osawatomie
6:00 P.M.	6:00	Wichita	6:00	Osawatomie
7:00 P.M.	7:00	Wichita	7:00	Osawatomie
8:00 P.M.	8:00	Wichita	8:00	Osawatomie
9:00 P.M.	9:00	Wichita	9:00	Osawatomie
10:00 P.M.	10:00	Wichita	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 P.M.	11:00	Wichita	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 A.M.	12:00	Wichita	12:00	Osawatomie

Returning. Special will leave Osawatomie 7:00 P.M., making all stops to Wichita.

FROM TOPERA, AUGUST 31st.

Train	Time	From	Time	To
10:00 A.M.	10:00	Topera	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 A.M.	11:00	Topera	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 P.M.	12:00	Topera	12:00	Osawatomie
1:00 P.M.	1:00	Topera	1:00	Osawatomie
2:00 P.M.	2:00	Topera	2:00	Osawatomie
3:00 P.M.	3:00	Topera	3:00	Osawatomie
4:00 P.M.	4:00	Topera	4:00	Osawatomie
5:00 P.M.	5:00	Topera	5:00	Osawatomie
6:00 P.M.	6:00	Topera	6:00	Osawatomie
7:00 P.M.	7:00	Topera	7:00	Osawatomie
8:00 P.M.	8:00	Topera	8:00	Osawatomie
9:00 P.M.	9:00	Topera	9:00	Osawatomie
10:00 P.M.	10:00	Topera	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 P.M.	11:00	Topera	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 A.M.	12:00	Topera	12:00	Osawatomie

Returning. Special will leave Osawatomie 7:10 P.M., making all stops to Topera.

FROM SALINA, AUGUST 31st.

Train	Time	From	Time	To
10:00 A.M.	10:00	Salina	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 A.M.	11:00	Salina	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 P.M.	12:00	Salina	12:00	Osawatomie
1:00 P.M.	1:00	Salina	1:00	Osawatomie
2:00 P.M.	2:00	Salina	2:00	Osawatomie
3:00 P.M.	3:00	Salina	3:00	Osawatomie
4:00 P.M.	4:00	Salina	4:00	Osawatomie
5:00 P.M.	5:00	Salina	5:00	Osawatomie
6:00 P.M.	6:00	Salina	6:00	Osawatomie
7:00 P.M.	7:00	Salina	7:00	Osawatomie
8:00 P.M.	8:00	Salina	8:00	Osawatomie
9:00 P.M.	9:00	Salina	9:00	Osawatomie
10:00 P.M.	10:00	Salina	10:00	Osawatomie
11:00 P.M.	11:00	Salina	11:00	Osawatomie
12:00 A.M.	12:00	Salina	12:00	Osawatomie

Special will leave Osawatomie 8:00 P.M., leaving 8:20 A.M. After Osawatomie 8:10 A.M.

Returning. Special will leave Osawatomie 7:00 P.M., making all stops to Salina.

See Local Agents for Further Particulars, or Address:

S. H. PATRICK, ST. LOUIS. S. T. G. MATTHEWS, KANSAS CITY, MO. C. H. HORTON, AGENT, OSAWATOMIE, KAN.

Kansas Historical Quarterly

Theodore Roosevelt's Osawatimie Speech

by Robert S. La Forte

http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1966/66_2_laforte.htm

Summer, 1966 (Vol. 32, No. 2), pages 187 to 200

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ON AUGUST 31, 1910, Theodore Roosevelt delivered what was perhaps the most important speech ever given in Kansas. Surrounded by 30,000 enthusiastic listeners at Osawatimie, he developed a political creed which became a milestone along the road to the modern all-powerful state. This speech, later called the "New Nationalism Address," evoked a wide variety of responses. It was labeled "Communistic," "Socialistic," and "Anarchistic" in various quarters; while others hailed it "the greatest oration ever given on American soil." What then were the circumstances surrounding the address? What was the Kansas role in the drama at Osawatimie? Why was that town chosen for such an auspicious moment in history? And why did an ex-President devise a comprehensive political program such as the "New Nationalism?"

The ostensible occasion for the speech was the two-day dedicatory ceremonies at the John Brown Memorial Park. The park, located at the southwestern edge of Osawatimie in the vicinity of a well-remembered skirmish between Proslavery forces and the men led by Brown during the "Battle of Osawatimie," was a gift to the state from the G.A.R.'s feminine auxiliary, the Women's Relief Corps. It was the brain child of Anna Heacock, Cora Deputy, and the property's former owner, Maj. John B. Remington. Remington, allegedly John Brown's nephew by marriage, had induced Deputy and Heacock to buy the land for their organization and then donate the 22-1/2 acres to the state for the memorial. Not all the ladies supported the proposal as zealously as Commanders Heacock and Deputy. For example, Minnie D. Morgan objected to the way money was subscribed by the corps' leadership without formal approval from the W.R.C. She also argued against the project since the place had "never been owned by John Brown. He never lived on it. The John Brown cabin...[was] not there, and ...while Brown and his men fired upon the gang of pro-slavery men from...[the] locality, no Free State men were injured and no blood was spilled" there. [1] But, these details did not deter Heacock. Long before the \$1,800 was raised to purchase the site, she, with the help of Gov. Walter Roscoe Stubbs, had secured formal acceptance of the area from the legislature. [2]

Since ceremonies transferring the title to the state took place at the W.R.C.'s grand encampment in Ottawa on May 13, Osawatimie's sons and daughters were angered over the affair. Traditionally, publicity in connection with Brown was reserved by them as a means of boosting their town. Twice before his Kansas activities had been lionized in well-attended ceremonies there. In 1877 John J. Ingalls and lesser state notables had dedicated a monument to Brown. On the 50th anniversary of the battle, the Vice-President of the United States, Charles W. Fairbanks, had spoken to a crowd of approximately 20,000. [3] But an event as awesome as the establishment of a state park in memory of Osawatimie's hero demanded even more attention than it had received. Thus, in March, 1910, Dr. L. L. Uhls, superintendent of the state mental hospital and president of the town's commercial club, proposed a plan to give Osawatimie proper recognition. Aware that Col. Theodore Roosevelt had scheduled a Western trip for the late summer of 1910, Uhls decided the former "rough rider" should be willing to come to Kansas for so patriotic a cause as the dedication. On March 24 he asked Governor Stubbs to invite the ex-President, noting that "the citizens...in...this portion of the state, would be very glad if you could succeed in presenting this matter to Mr. Roosevelt in such a way as to secure him for the purpose." [4]

At the time the colonel was slowly making his way out of the jungles of central Africa, where he had been on safari, and was enroute to Europe. His itinerary included a rest stop at Porto Maurizio, Italy, in early April. It was there that Stubbs' telegram reached him. Uncertain that his invitation alone would convince Roosevelt, Stubbs sent an appeal to Gifford Pinchot, who waited at the Italian seaport to discuss his dismissal from the agricultural department with his former patron. Following Roosevelt's audience with Pinchot, he dispatched a one-word message back to Kansas -- "Accept." He also wrote the governor that he "looked forward to visiting...[the state], and especially to seeing you and my old friends there." [5] When Roosevelt was invited, he was still unsure of his future role in American politics and was attempting to appraise Republican party conditions in general.

Roosevelt's immense popularity made him an important force in a gathering storm within the G.O.P. Pres. William Howard Taft's actions in disputes over Cannonism, the tariff, and the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, had led a small but vocal band of insurgent Republicans to revolt openly against his leadership. This feud complicated Roosevelt's position since the insurgents included his closest political associates. However, he had chosen Taft to be his successor and a majority of Republican leaders were standing resolutely by the President. Since both factions were asking his support, Roosevelt was faced with a dilemma. Privately, he held Taft responsible for defeating policies he had initiated as President, but he did not want an open break with the administration. Until 1912 he believed the Republican party was the only instrument available for progress in America and he did not want to see it disintegrate because of Taft's ineptitude. But, though he cherished the party machinery, he recognized that in the two years since leaving office it had become non-Rooseveltian. In fact, he thought his ideals were currently being championed by many insurgents. Precisely what course he should follow plagued him often in the months after April, 1910.

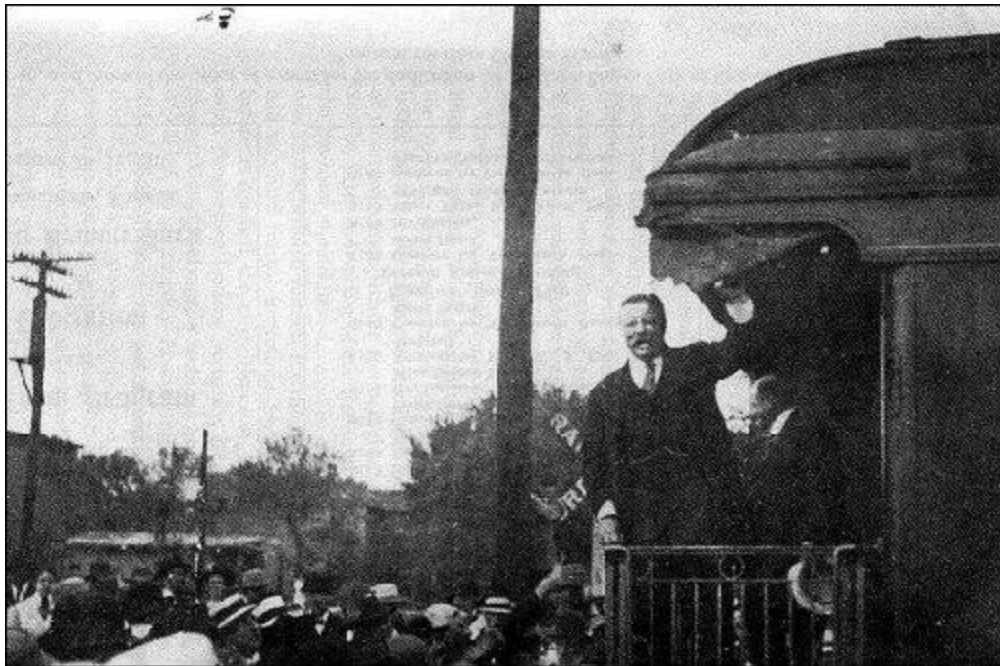
It was during this period, before the Osawatimie speech was written, that Roosevelt devised a scheme to meet the crisis. In July he was visited by three leading Kansas rebels -- Sen. Joseph L. Bristow, Cong. Victor Murdock, and Rep. Edmund H. Madison. The press interpreted the visit as an indication that Roosevelt was supporting insurgency. Bristow believed the same thing. He wrote a colleague that he had found the colonel in a "very desirable mental temperament." "He seems," he told another friend, "to be more advanced and radical in his progressive ideas than...ever before." [6] This was exactly the reaction Roosevelt wanted. As early as April, he had told Henry Cabot Lodge that he intended to keep insurgency "out of the wrong kind of hands" so that he might be able to guide to the movement. Three weeks before the Western tour he wrote William Allen White that he was endeavoring to keep the insurgents free of a position from which he could not extricate them. [7] Roosevelt had convinced himself by this time that if could appear as the ideological leader of the insurgents and then publicly endorse part of Taft's administration, he would close the Republican split. "The greatest service I can render Taft," he wrote Lodge in early July, "...is to try to help the Republican Party to win at the polls this Fall, and that I am trying to do." His Western tour would aid the cause, but he recognized that expressing his ideas and not appearing critical of Taft would be a difficult job. Nevertheless, he was willing to make the effort. After his Osawatimie speech boomeranged so drastically he pointedly told Lodge it was part of his program of party reunification. [8] What Roosevelt did not say was that he had placed a high price on his services as conciliator. The cost he hoped to charge was the approval of the "New Nationalism" as the fundamental beliefs of Republicanism. "My proper task," he had written Fremont Older, "is clearly to announce myself on the vital questions of the day, to set the standards so that it can be seen, and take a position that cannot be misunderstood; then to cooperate with all others wherever they be who are striving for the same ends, and to cooperate not in a factional sense..." [9]

By reciting his policies in detail and then closing the chasm which separated Eastern and Western factions of the party, he thought it would be obvious that harmony was possible only because of Theodore Roosevelt and his ideals. In part, the Osawatimie speech was a comprehensive political program because it was meant to be the future platform of the Republican party. He chose Osawatimie as the site for its announcement, since he knew his ideas would be favorably received there due to his personal popularity. Roosevelt did not anticipate the violent reaction his speech precipitated elsewhere. He stressed neither traditional radicalism nor insurgency in the address, but it was interpreted in this manner. In general, the Eastern United States denounced him as

"communist agitator" while the West thought he was supporting hostilities towards Taft. No matter how hard he tried to dispel these points of view in later activities, they continued to persist. [10] Thus his plan, and in a sense the Osawatomie speech, were unsuccessful. Not only were his ideas too radical for some, but his purposes were misconstrued by others. Actually, Republicanism was split much too deeply to be solved by so simple a solution. [11]


Since Roosevelt could not manipulate Republican affairs to the degree he desired, his failure is understandable. However, there is no logical explanation for his inability to manage phases of the proposal which he could have controlled. For example, Roosevelt did not write the Osawatomie speech, but allowed Gifford Pinchot to draft it. In early May he reached this decision. The address was not written until late July and early August. Then, Pinchot asked William Allen White to help him compose it. On August 17 Roosevelt accepted the Pinchot version, making a few changes but finding it "substantially satisfactory." [12] Pinchot, even more of an extremist than Roosevelt in upholding strong governmental control over individual activities, tinted the address with radicalism far in excess of what Roosevelt would probably have done alone. Writing in the September 3 issue of the Outlook, Roosevelt was much more lenient towards capitalism than he had been at Osawatomie. Explaining his position further, he said, "If we approach the work of reform in a spirit of vindictiveness -- in a spirit of reckless disregard for the right of others or of hatred for men because they are better off than ourselves -- we are sure in the end to do not good but damage to all mankind... ." [13]





Upper: Looking northeast on Main street, Osawatomie, from the Missouri Pacific railroad depot. The mounted troops were from Fort Riley. Photo *courtesy* Dike Dickerson.

Lower: Theodore Roosevelt at Osawatomie, August 31, 1910

 <p>Official Program for Dedication of John Brown Park Osawatomie, Kansas. August 30-31, '10</p>	<p>PROGRAM</p> <p>TUESDAY, AUGUST 30. <i>Morning</i> 9:00 Benediction, Przekling. 10:00 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 11:00 Drill by U. S. Troops and Kansas National Guards. 12:00 Dinner. <i>Afternoon</i> 1:00 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 2:00 Invocation. 2:30 Address by Captain Joseph G. Waters. 3:15 Music. 4:00 Address by Mrs. Anna Hancock. 4:40 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 4:50 Recitation—"John Brown."—Miss Beulah Foster. 4:15 Address by Hon. W. A. Calderhead. 5:15 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. <i>Evening</i>—Camp Fire 6:00 Address by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 7:00 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 8:00 Invocation. 8:15 Short Talks by Luke F. Parsons and other survivors. 9:00 Address by Department Commander Nathan K. Harmon.</p>	<p>9:30 Vocal Solo—"The Flag Without A Star,"—Helen O. Harris. 9:45 Address by Sarah C. Stubbs, President of W. R. C. 10:00 Music by Drum Corps.</p> <p>WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31. <i>Morning</i> 10:00 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 11:00 Drill by U. S. Troops and Kansas National Guards. 12:00 Dinner. <i>Afternoon</i> 2:00 Parade by Soldiers, G. A. R., W. R. C., and Civil Societies, J. B. Homington, presiding. 3:00 Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. 3:20 Invocation by Chaplain of Department G. A. R. 4:30 Vocal Solo, Miss Elizabeth Ellis. 4:45 Address by Mrs. Cora M. Deputy, President of the Board of Trustees. 4:00 Address by Governor Stubbs. 4:30 Dedication Address by Theodore Roosevelt. Concert by Thirtieth Regiment Band. Taps. <i>Evening</i> 7:00 Theodore Roosevelt and party entertained by the Kansas State Editorial Association.</p>
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What did William Allen White add to the speech? Possibly White was responsible for the many specific reforms which Roosevelt demanded in the message. By including these specific provisions, which superficially resembled those of the Kansas Republican platform, White could have been seeking to further his group's political prestige. He, Stubbs, and Bristow had written the Kansas platform during August and had steamrolled it through the party council on August 30. [14] After the speech, it was a factional orthodoxy to

stress how much Roosevelt had upheld state progressive Republicans in the address. White repeated this so often he eventually believed it. In his autobiography he writes, "He did get squarely on the Kansas Progressive platform, a position which shocked his friend in the East. . . ." [15] Of course, there was a big difference in Roosevelt's position and much of the state platform, since Roosevelt's program was national in scope while Kansas Republicans were primarily concerned with state reforms. The substance of the ideas though similar were to be enacted at different levels. Roosevelt had no interest in retaining the ideals of Jeffersonian "state's right" demagogues, as he called them. He was interested in a Hamiltonian concept of power which he described as the "New Nationalism." [16]

We can be certain White did accomplish one thing in the speech. His insistence that Roosevelt limit his remarks on John Brown seems insignificant now, but in 1910 it was vastly important. Oswald Garrison Villard, one of the leading critics of Osawatimie's hero, was afraid that Roosevelt in characteristic half-knowledge would describe the "old fanatic" in terms so favorable that Villard's interpretation would be set back about 30 years. Thus, he asked White to persuade Roosevelt to confine his remarks about Brown. In the finished speech, Brown's name appeared just twice and then only incidentally. The editor of the Osawatimie Graphic commented on this slight, noting that since Roosevelt was asked to consecrate the John Brown park "one would naturally suppose this would necessitate...more than a mere cursory mention of...Brown." Two years later Ed Howe remembered the occasion as the time "Roosevelt dedicated a monument to John Brown without mentioning...Brown's name." [17]

The wording of the speech was only one way in which White intended to make profitable use of Roosevelt's presence. His great public friendship with the colonel prompted a number of organizations to appeal for his help in persuading the ex-President to honor them. Two of the most politically potent bodies which enlisted White's aid were the Kansas Editorial Association and the Kansas Traveling Men's Association. Publicly White plugged for both of these bodies, sending Roosevelt formal invitations for them. However, at the same time "the Sage of Emporia" was placing more important demands on T.R.'s time. While writing these formal letters, White was telling the beleaguered statesman privately that he should spend the hours after the speech at Governor Stubbs' Lawrence mansion, where it would be "nice and quiet." Already, he and Stubbs had planned a huge dinner for Roosevelt for the evening of August 31 and intended to arrange things so that it would be politically beneficial to Stubbs and other progressive Republicans. Both men understood the value of publicity. In working out the invitation list, White stressed the need of having all the factional faithfuls present, as well as moderate Republicans. He urged the governor to have plenty of representatives from the press there. Furthermore, since Stubbs was planning a fight in the next session for a public utilities law, important state legislators had to be invited. [18]

There were some problems confronting the governor and his political associates. While they were determined Roosevelt's itinerary after the speech, arrangements for the Osawatimie ceremonies were being made by the city's commercial club and the W.R.C., neither of whom were sympathetic to the higher demands of progressivism. Stubbs, after convincing Major Remington that for propriety's sake the governor should introduce an ex-President, replaced the major, who had scheduled himself the honor. Both Stubbs and White had received formal invitations from Roosevelt to join his party before it reached the city. However, nothing had been done for other progressive leaders. Actually, Republican National Committeeman David Mulvane, a factional enemy of the progressives, was scheduled to accompany Roosevelt during his entire stay in the state. Since Mulvane was never mentioned in connection with the celebration, he apparently played no part. How this was accomplished is not altogether clear. Nevertheless, every progressive Republican except Vic Murdock, who was out of the state at the time, somehow became a part of Roosevelt's entourage and appeared prominently in connection with the dedication. They joined the ex-President's cavalcade as it crossed Kansas. [19]

Roosevelt's trip through the West received wide coverage in all major news media. From their beginnings his activities became the most important items reported in Kansas and across the United States. But it was in Kansas that he received his warmest reception. His special train entered the state on the mid-morning of August 30, along the Missouri Pacific mainline. Its first stop was in Tribune, where 300 people awaited him, but at

Scott City the largest crowds had gathered. There, in a driving rain, western Kansans from all the surrounding towns, including two train loads from Garden City, were on hand to cheer his arrival. From the rear platform he spoke briefly, emphasizing the importance of the average man in government and the filial responsibilities of mankind. All along the route he repeated the performance, making approximately the same five minute remarks. After his train left La Crosse, he retired for the night and crowds of disappointed people waited in vain to see the person one country editor described as "the greatest man that has ever lived since the days of Napoleon," and whom another characterized "as the world's most popular citizen." The next morning when Roosevelt arrived at Ottawa, two thousand people stood in a drizzling rain to listen to him. A little earlier nearly a thousand people had done the same at Osage City. As his train left Ottawa some girls gathered at the southeastern edge of town were heard by a reporter to gush, "isn't he dear?...Yes!...I just love him...He has the dearest face!" [20]

But if Kansas were excited, Osawatomie was enthralled! Never had the city's fathers been so successful in making their town popular. Afraid they would not measure up to their tremendous responsibilities they kept the town newspapers hammering away on the immense significance of the affair. In June one booster wrote, "Is Osawatomie going to allow this celebration in August to be a failure?...Can it be possible that Osawatomie has lost its enthusiasm?...We must not go back on the reputation we have already established." [21] In the following weeks thing came alive. Weds were cut all over town; stinky ditches were filled; electricity and water were extended to the park; brush, trees, and debris were cleared from the area and suddenly the park took form. Other arrangements were also made. Bands were engaged and speakers of state-wide recognition were selected to start the oratorical fireworks on August 30. Over the multitude of little details, Major Remington, the ladies of the W.R.C. and the commercial club labored feverishly. [22] In typical fashion numerous minor disagreements arose which had to be resolved, and each group claimed more credit than it deserved. [23] But a few days before the visit the town was ready. "We've put on our biled shirts," wrote the Graphic's editor, "brought the galluses out of their hiding place, had our better halves darn our socks, put on a smile, and thank you, we are ready for plutocrat and peasant, everybody from you and me to the dignitaries, who will be present...to honor the ground where John Brown made his decisive stand for freedom and where the things began to happen away back...which made...people...set up and take notice of Kansas...and [we've]...been noticed ever since." [24] Then on August 30 it began to rain! The street sprinkler imported from Paola to keep the dust down appeared to be an anachronism. The bunting spread along the route Roosevelt would follow began to droop, the unpaved streets grew muddier and muddier and then the electric lights began to fizzle on and off. Things looked dim! All through the 30th, when the festivities started, people poured into Osawatomie -- "singly...in pairs, by the dozens and scores." They came "on foot, bicycles, motors, buggies, wagons, trains and [in] every manner...possible." Even though it was raining, the Graphic reported, "they had on their sunshine disposition...and were ready to hear 'Teddy' speak." But as the great day dawned the rain diminished and then stopped. And, while acres of people, as one observer described them, waited at the Osawatomie station for his arrival, they sang Moody and Sankey hymns to keep their spirits dry. Then the colonel's train appeared. Pandemonium broke loose! The crowd shrieked, whistled, cheered, and cried "hello Teddy!" Roosevelt stepped out onto the rear platform and just smiled, bowed, and looked like he enjoyed it immensely. It was a bully occasion! [25]

All the other political bigwigs joined him on the rear platform and each made brief speeches. When Gifford Pinchot talked about the political "idears" of the West, they literally howled. "Yes," reported the Daily Capital, "he says 'idears!'" More important, he insisted that "Kansas idears" would eventually dominated national politics. [26]

Then the group returned to the coach, leaving it for lunch at the state mental hospital. There Roosevelt, apparently forgetting his grand strategy of healing Republicanism's split personality, took what progressives considered to be a slap at Taft. He later interpolated the same remarks into his prepared speech. "I believe," he said, "...in the political tenets of Kansas, which are that it is just as bad to lie on the stump as off the stump, and that a political promise must be redeemed exactly as an honest man will redeem his outstanding obligations. I came here to find Kansas slightly disturbed, but I have never visited Kansas when this was not true. Perhaps I

might put it another way by saying that Kansas seems to be enjoying her usual good health." [27] At 2:15 P.M. Roosevelt was introduced by Stubbs to approximately 30,000 people in the park. Here is a man, Stubbs said, "whose name is synonymous for liberty, justice and righteousness in private and public life and whose power and influence for good is greater than any...ruler in the world today." [28]

Then "Teddy" mounted the kitchen table which picturesquely served as his podium at Osawatomie. High above a surging throng which continually cheered, he spoke for one and one-half hours. The set up, reported in the Daily Capital, was much like a country fair, with booths where sandwiches and drinks were being sold. All during the speech people continued to buy food at those stands and the vendors continued to hawk their wares. Not everyone could hear his high-falsettoed voice, but everyone cheered. [29]

The essence of Roosevelt's speech has been discussed by numerous historians. it was, according to Prof. George E. Mowry, "the most radical speech ever given by an ex-President... His concepts of the extent to which a powerful federal government could regulate and use private property in the interest of the whole and his declarations about labor, when viewed [with]...the eyes of 1910, were nothing short of revolutionary." [30]

Roosevelt stated:

The American people are right in demanding that new Nationalism without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The new Nationalism puts the National need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat National issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from over-division of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring National activities to a deadlock. This new Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than any one class or section of the people... .

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property as well as human welfare. Normally...the ends are the same, but whenever the alternative must be faced I am for men and not for property... .

These ideas, plus a very clever comparison between the crisis which Brown and Lincoln faced in the 1850's and the crisis Roosevelt and the American people faced in 1910, constitute most of the speech. Taken with the 17 specific reforms Roosevelt discussed, they are the essentials of the address. [31]

According to Richard Henry Little of the Chicago Daily Tribune, when Roosevelt ended his oration, Governor Stubbs leaped upon the table and shouted, "My friends, we have just heard one of the greatest pronouncements for human welfare ever made. This is one of the big moments in the history of the United States!" [32] The cheers continued long after Roosevelt had left the park and boarded the special train for Lawrence. "Not expecting even Lincoln at Gettysburg," wrote Henry Chamberlain in The Voter, Roosevelt's speech was "the greatest ever delivered by any ancient or modern." [33] That night, at Stubbs' home, progressives were jubilant over what they had heard at Osawatomie, but Stubbs' household was upset. Stubbs and White had invited twice as many guests as his mansion could accommodate! Roosevelt, caught in the enthusiasm he had helped create, smiled broadly as he was photographed eating "salt-rising bread" -- a Stubbs campaign favorite. [34]

The next day newspaper editors across the country reacted to the speech, while in the following weeks the mails were crammed with letters recording various sentiments about the Osawatomie address. The ideologically conservative New York Evening Post branded Roosevelt a "self-seeking, hypocritical, braggart," while its sister journal, the Sun, reported that "the third greatest crisis in the history of the nation has arrived, and warned every honest and patriotic citizen to prepare himself against this new Napoleon who deemed it his mission...to overthrow and destroy in the name of public opinion and...personal advancement." The New York Tribune

called the speech "frankly socialistic." The socialists had other ideas. The Appeal-to-Reason at Girard did not bother to report the speech, but it did continue a running argument with correspondents on the questions of whether Roosevelt was an insane maniac or simply ignorant. Its editor thought he was a bit of both!

The Kansas City Star, Chicago Daily Tribune, Topeka Daily Capital, and a host of lesser progressive journals agreed that Roosevelt had left no doubt about where he stood. "T.R. has become a progressive Republican," editorialized Harold Chase in the Capital. The principles are not new, said the Star's editor, but the speech "marks the progress of the leading progressive." It was with good judgment, he continued, that "he reserved his first formal political utterance...along the line of progressive government, for the state that has given him the most striking expression of faith in the policies that bear his name." He had not taken sides, he had been with them all along.

Most regular Republican journals in the state did not emphasize the temper of the speech. W.Y. Morgan's Hutchinson News noted that "Osawatomie will be more renowned as the place Teddy Roosevelt visited than as John Brown's former battleground," but failed to say why. Another regular journal, Charles F. Scott's Iola Register, lamented that "Teddy [is] a Rank Insurgent." B.J. Sheridan's Democratic Kansas City Post agreed. The Pittsburg Headlight, controlled by the old-line Republican sachem "Doc" Moore, reported that Roosevelt spoke at Osawatomie but said that Capt. J. G. Water's eulogy of Brown on August 30 had been the highlight of the occasion. [35]

Individual comments were equally divided. Congressional nominee Fred Jackson noted that he and Roosevelt were in perfect agreement. "I like to hear a man like Roosevelt talk," he said. "He stands for everything good. He has good, wholesome ideas in regard to public life..." Ex-Democrat D. D. Leahy noted, "Roosevelt would make a good Kansan. He thinks like Kansans, acts like Kansans and talks like Kansans..." To Sen. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., Bristow wrote, "Roosevelt in his Osawatomie speech got on the platform practically. [He] indorsed everything that we said..." And Henry J. Allen jubilantly agreed, "Either Roosevelt wrote the Kansas platform or the Insurgents wrote the speech." But while some Kansans were happy, others were not. Wichita banker C. Q. Chandler, a former favorite of the defunct Long political machine, wrote Chester I. Long that it seemed clear that "Mr. T. R. has gone 'bag and baggage' to the Insurgents, and is paving the way to be nominated for President of the United States next time. I had hoped...he would pursue a different course..." William J. Barnes, Jr., the New York Republican committeeman against whom Roosevelt was contesting for leadership in the Empire state, announced that the speech "had startled all thoughtful men and impressed them with the frightful danger which lies in his political ascendancy." Taft, uncertain of Roosevelt's attitude all summer, thought his predecessor had chosen a "peculiar" way to support his administration. "I am bound to say," he wrote his brother Charles, "that his speeches are fuller of the ego now than they ever were, and he allows himself to fall into a style that makes one think he considers himself still he President of the United States." [36]

It is fairly obvious why the Osawatomie speech generated such mixed emotions. Some people were fundamentally frightened by the tone of the address, a fear which continues to be expressed against "big government." Many agreed with Roosevelt's ideals of human welfare. Others reacted for purely personal reasons. If the speech helped them politically they applauded; if it hindered them, they were exasperated. It is impossible to know how the vast majority of Americans reacted. The crowd at Osawatomie was entranced by Roosevelt. Perhaps, F. A. Baker of Lane, Kan., summed up grass roots sentiments superlatively when he wrote Stubbs, "I think that was the greatest speech by the greatest man in the greatest country to a crowd of the greatest people under the Shining Sun." [37]

In 1912 the Osawatomie speech became the basis of the National Progressive party platform. After the stunning defeat of the Republicans in 1910, Roosevelt issued the following statement: "So far as I am concerned, I have nothing whatever to add to or take away from the declaration of principles which I have made in the Osawatomie speech... . The fight for progressive popular government has merely begun, and will

certainly go on to a triumphant conclusion in spite of initial checks and irrespective of the personal success or failure of individual leaders." [38]

Notes

ROBERT S. LA FORTE, a native of Kansas with B.A. and M.S. degrees from Kansas State College, Pittsburg, and a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas, is an assistant professor of history at East Texas State University, Commerce, Tex.

1. *Journal of the Twenty-fifth Department Convention of the Woman's Relief Corps*, Department of Kansas, Ottawa, May 11-13, 1909, p. 108.

2. Letters, Heacock to Stubbs, February 19, March 27, 29, May 5; Heacock to J. S. Dawson, April 1; Stubbs to Heacock, May 13; F. H. Stannard to Stubbs, May 14; C. M. Kimball to Stubbs, August 5; D. M. Bender to Stubbs, October, 1909, "Walter Roscoe Stubbs Gubernatorial Papers," state archives, Kansas Historical Society. Although the legislature accepted the park without a fuss, when appropriations for maintenance of the area was before the 1911 legislature, J. W. Brown nearly succeeded in defeating it. "John Brown," said the other Brown, "was never in a proper sense a citizen of Kansas. . . . He never engaged in any legitimate business or employment while here. . . . With the instincts of an anarchist and the hand of an assassin, his career in Kansas was one of lawlessness and crime -- the one indelible blot on the otherwise fair free-state record. No Kansan desires to appropriate money to perpetuate the name of a Booth, a Guiteau, or a Czolgosz. Neither will consent to exalt the name of the first anarchist and rebel this country produced." -- *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 5, 1911.

3. Sam J. Shively, "History of John Brown Monument." -- *Osawatomie Graphic*, August 11, 1910.

4. Letter, Uhls to Stubbs, March 24, 1910, "Stubbs Papers."

5. Telegrams, Stubbs to Roosevelt, April 9, Stubbs to Pinchot, April 9, Roosevelt to Stubbs, April 11, 1910; letter, Roosevelt to Stubbs, April 11, 1910. "Stubbs Papers." For a brief discussion of Pinchot's activities at Porto Maurizio, see George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, Wis., 1946), p. 125.

6. *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 3, 1910. Letters, Bristow to Jonathan Bourne, Jr., July, Bristow to Richard Lloyd-Jones, July 7, 1910, "Joseph L. Bristow Papers," Manuscripts division, K. S. H. S.

7. Letter, Roosevelt to Lodge, April 11, 1910, *Selections From the Correspondence for Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918*, 2 vols., v. 2 (New York, 1925). Letter, Roosevelt to White, August 9, 1910, "William Allen White Papers," Library of Congress.

8. Letters, Roosevelt to Lodge, July 19, 1910, *Selections...Lodge; Roosevelt to Lodge*, August 18, September 12, 1910, "Theodore Roosevelt Collection," Library of Congress.

9. Letter, Roosevelt to Older, August 18, 1910, "Roosevelt Collection."

10. Mowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-153.

11. Three noteworthy discussions of Roosevelt's summer plans have been published. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography* (New York, 1931), has a different explanation from that presented here. George Mowry, *op. cit.*, 142-147, was the first scholar to assign a harmony program to Roosevelt, but in overlooking the essential purpose of the Osawatomie speech he missed an important point in Roosevelt's

stratagems. Martin Fausold's *Gifford Pinchot, Bull Moose Progressive* (Syracuse, 1961), uses the "New Nationalism address" as the focal point for a penetrating discussion of Pinchot's contributions to modern liberalism. Fausold also has an interesting summary of other explanations advanced for T. R.'s summer activities.

12. Letters, Pinchot to Roosevelt, May 18, August 18, "Gifford Pinchot Papers," Library of Congress; Pinchot to White, July 14, "White Paper"; Roosevelt to Pinchot, August 17, 1910, "Roosevelt Collection." Also, a letter from Amos Pinchot to his mother, as cited in Fausold, op. cit., p. 21. Pinchot also wrote T. R.'s anti-court speech at Denver. See letter, Pinchot to Roosevelt, August 19, 1910, "Pinchot Papers."

13. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Progressives, Past and Present," *The Outlook*, New York, v. 96, No. 1 (September 3, 1910), p. 24.

14. "We had a tremendous triumph in Kansas this week," rejoiced Bristow. "The progressives ... put out a progressive platform. I wrote the national end of it, Stubbs and his friends the state, and Will White put on the literary touches," -- Letter, Bristow to A. L. Miller, September 2, 1910, "Bristow Papers."

15. *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York, 1946), p. 438. At Osawatomie the crowd, sensing the overt relationship between the speech and the state platform, was reported to have chanted, "Either Roosevelt wrote the Kansas platform or William Allen White wrote Col. Roosevelt's speech." -- *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, 1910.

16. A comparison of the speech and the state platform support this view. For the platform see the *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 31, 1910.

17. Letters, Villard to White, July 28, White to Roosevelt, August 4; Roosevelt to White, August 9; Villard to White, August 18, 1910. -- "White Papers." *Osawatomie Graphic*, September 1, 1910. *Atchison Globe*, June 26, 1912.

18. Letters, Frank Harper to White, July 22; White to Roosevelt, August 4; W. B. Howland to H. C. Sticher, August 12; Sticher to Dave Leahy, August 14; White to Roosevelt, August 15; Howland to White, August 19; White to Stubbs, August 23; White to Pinchot, August 24, 1910; telegrams, C. C. Clevenger to Sticher, n. d. (August, 1910), Clevenger to Sticher, August 13, "White Papers." Letter, Sticher to Howland, August 14; telegram, Sticher to Harper, August 11, 1910, "Roosevelt Papers." White to Bristow, August 26, 1910, Bristow Papers."

19. *Osage City Free-Press*, August 25, 1910. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, 1910. *New York Times*, September 1, 1910. That everyone was not satisfied with the "progressive" way things were handled is obvious from the dispute between Stubbs and Dr. Uhls, which was aired in Roosevelt's presence. "WE have been letting Governor Stubbs play horse with us long enough," said Uhls, "and now we intend to stand pat on our original plans." -- *Kansas City (Mo.) Post*, August 31, 1910.

20. Not all the towns along the Missouri Pacific mainline reported Roosevelt's passage through their counties. Those between La Crosse and Salina usually did not report the occasion. The following newspapers carried stories describing the scenes at the various cities: *Greeley County Republican*, Tribune, September 2; *Scott City News Chronicle*, August 26; September 2; *Garden City Imprint*, September 2; *Wichita Beacon*, August 31; *Hoisington Dispatch*, September 1; *Council Grove Guard*, September 2; *La Crosse Republican*, September 1; *Allen Enterprise*, September 1; *Bison Bee*, September 2; *Salina Journal*, August 30, 31; *Osage City Free-Press*, September 1; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, August 31; *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, 1910.

21. *Osawatomie Graphic*, June 9, 1910.

22. *Ibid.*, June 16, 30, July 14, August 11, 18, 25, 1910. *Osawatomie Globe*, July 14, 21, 1910. Letters, D. D. Leahy to Cora Deputy, May 26; Remington to Leahy, June 23; Leahy to Remington, July 1, 9; Frank Travis to Stubbs, August 8; Leahy to Stubbs, July 26; "Stubbs Papers." An interesting development in connection with the celebration was the idea of having the sole survivor of the "Battle of Osawatomie" present -- purportedly Luke F. Parsons of Salina. However, on July 21, the *Osawatomie Globe* reported it looked like the plan would be scuttled because "the survivors of the battle of Osawatomie might be as numerous as the people who came over in the Mayflower." There were at least six "sole survivors."

23. The *Osawatomie Graphic's* editor, a member of the commercial club, having his share of trouble in helping to arrange the affair, wrote on August 25 that there was one satisfaction: "It has been announced that his [T. R.'s] most important speech will be made here and it will probably will ... if somebody, somewhere don't butt in and cause a change of plans." -- *Osawatomie Graphic*, August 25, 1910.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1910.

26. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, 1910.

27. *Osawatomie Globe*, September 1, 1910.

28. "Governor Stubbs' Introduction," a copy, "Stubbs Papers." There was wide variation reported on the size of the crowd, ranging from 20,000 to 40,000, but most observers thought it was in the neighborhood of 30,000. See *Osawatomie Graphic*, September 1, *Osawatomie Globe*, September 1, *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, *Kansas City Post*, August 31, *New York Tribune*, September 1, *New York Times*, September 1, and *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 1, 1910.

29. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1, 1910.

30. Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

31. *Osawatomie Globe*, September 1, 1910.

32. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 1, 1910.

33. "As T. R. Swings Around the Circle," *The Voter*, Chicago, No. 89 (September, 1910), p. 33.

34. *Topeka Daily Capital*, and *Hutchinson Daily Gazette*, September 1, 1910.

35. *New York Evening Post*, as cited in *The Voter* (September, 1910), p. 35. *New York Sun*, as cited in Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 145. *New York Tribune*, September 1; *Appeal to Reason*, August 30, September 3, 10, 17; *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 1; *Wichita Eagle*, September 1; *Kansas City Star*, September 1; *Hutchinson News*, September 1; *Iola Register*, August 31; *Kansas City Post*, August 31; *Pittsburg Headlight*, September 1, 8, 1910.

36. Jackson's and Leahy's comments were reported in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 3, 1910. Letter, Bristow to Bourne, September 2, 1910, "Bristow Papers." Henry J. Allen. "Roosevelt in Kansas," *Kansas Magazine*, v. 4 (September and October, 1910), p. 68. Letter, Chandler to Long, "Chester I. Long Papers," Manuscript division, K. S. H. S. Barnes' comment in *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 3, 1910. Letter, Taft to C. P. Taft, September 10, 1910, "Taft Papers," as cited in W. R. Gwinn, *Uncle Joe Cannon* (U. S. A., 1957), p. 233.

37. Letter, F. A. Baker to Stubbs, September 5, 1910, "Stubbs Papers."

38. Theodore Roosevelt, "Mr. Roosevelt's Position," *The Outlook*, v. 96, No. 12 (November 19, 1910), p. 607.